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NOT IN KANSAS  
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# THE INDYPENDENT

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A FREE PAPER  
FOR FREE PEOPLE

## DEFEND NEW YORK FROM THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

\* IN DEPTH COVERAGE INSIDE:  
interviews, posters and analysis,  
grand plans and secret schemes



## WE CHOOSE THE WORLD

The Republican Party couldn't have picked a worse place to launch Bush's re-coronation. With the army neck deep in Baghdad, it seems they have a hard time knowing where they're not wanted.

From his Pharisee fundamentalism to that frat boy smirk, it's like Bush was created in a lab just to make a New Yorker's skin crawl. Maybe it takes an enemy the size of Bush to bring this city together. Out of sight of the TV cameras and spin doctors, that's exactly what's happening.

New York isn't just any city. It belongs as much to the world as to the USA. Immigrants from every continent and exiles from the heartland share sidewalks with the Wall Street power elite and big media honchos. New York has no mainstream and the right wing's cowboy bag of tricks doesn't play so well in Brooklyn.

From Chinatown to the Boogit Down, New Yorkers have made it clear that Ground Zero isn't looking to share the pain. On Feb. 15, 2003, over half a million people tried to march for peace before the invasion of Iraq. Instead of listening to the will of the people, crazy as that sounds, they

sent legions of cops to stifle an undeniable moment. New York chose the world and Bush ignored us. Just like he ignored the economy bottoming out while his fatcat friends made out like bandits. Just like he used the pain of 9/11 to sell more war. And he thinks nobody noticed. Bush made a big mistake coming here.

New York likes to say it's the capital of the world. Maybe it's time to earn our bragging rights from the solidarity of everyday people instead of commerce.

Hundreds of thousands are coming from around the country to rain on Bush's parade, but it's the people of the city who are the wild card. Rabble rousers are already in the street, anarchists are promising anarchy and community groups throughout the five boroughs are getting the word out.

"The disruption will be a little bit annoying, but minimal" – that's what Mayor Bloomberg says. Remember those words. They think they can get away with anything.

By Jed Brandt

The whole world will be watching New York City during the Republican National Convention. Some are looking for a repeat of recent summit protests. But if we're scanning history for inspiration, perhaps this moment will be more Prague Spring than Battle of Seattle. If the five boroughs come together with dignity, history will be made.

On Aug. 29, hundreds of thousands will fill the streets of Manhattan while over four thousand GOP delegates gangbang Reagan's corpse inside Madison Square Garden. The city is playing games with permits, but come the convention, the people will permit themselves to send Bush back to Texas no matter what "Homeland Security" has to say about it. The verdict is in: The Republican National Convention is not welcome.

VISIONS FOR THE RNC START IN THE CENTERFOLD



## NEW YORK CITY INDEPENDENT MEDIA CENTER

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**WHAT IS INDYMEDIA?**  
With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to illuminate and analyze issues affecting individuals, communities and ecosystems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate. We espouse open dialogue and placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

*The Indpendent* is funded by benefits, subscriptions, donations, grants and ads from organizations and individuals with similar missions.

**WHAT CAN I DO TO GET INVOLVED?**  
The IMC has an open door. You can write for *The Indpendent*, film events and rallies, self-publish articles to the web, take photos or just help us run the office. As an organization relying entirely on volunteer support, we encourage all forms of participation.

The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

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# COMMUNITY JULY CALENDAR

## SATURDAY, JULY 3

2 pm • Free  
*PGP/email security workshop*  
A hands-on training in encrypting emails and a section of your hard drive. This is essential knowledge for all activists.  
ABC No Rio,  
156 Rivington St.,  
SVP to: pgptraining@riseup.net.

## SUNDAY, JULY 4

Noon • Free  
*Declaration of Independence from George II*  
Greene Dragon has drafted a document listing grievances against President-elect George II and proclaiming the people's independence from our current corporate monarchy. There will be a signing wall for people to apply their John Hancocks, a statue of George II riding a WMD to pull down, and more.  
Washington Statue,  
26 Wall St.,  
www.greendragon.org

3 pm • Free  
*Patriot Games Party*  
Declaration of Independence afterparty. Beer, BBQ, music and games.  
Williamsburg, Brooklyn, Fort Ticonderello, 141 South 5th St. between Bedford and Driggs, www.greendragon.org

4:45 pm • Free  
*Anarchist Soccer*  
Fun, supportive pickup games for all skill levels. Every Sunday.  
Tompkins Sq. Park by Ave. B

## 9 pm • \$7 ROOFTOP FILMS: *Un-American Films*

"On this day, Independence Day, we are forced to question our government, to question what is done in the name of Americans or with our government's support... In watching tonight's films, you, too, question. In questioning, in watching, filming, creating, we resist the pull into consumerism and complacency."  
The River Project, Pier 26 on the Hudson,  
www.rooftopfilms.com

## MON JULY 5

Sunset • Free  
*Movie: All the President's Men*  
Free movies on Bryant Park lawn at dusk, every Monday for the summer.  
Bryant Park, between 40th and 42nd St. and 5th and 6th Avenues, www.bryantpark.org

## TUE JULY 6

6:30-7 pm • Free  
*1st Amendment Mob*  
Every Tuesday, gather at the WTC PATH station to recite the 1st Amendment into your cell phone (real or imaginary).  
NE corner Ground Zero, Church St train entrance,  
www.revbill.com

7 pm • Free  
*Public Speaking Workshop*  
Public speaking is a critical skill for activists. Whether you're new to public speaking or experienced at it, Greenspeakers workshops can give you knowledge, practice and supportive feedback.  
Green Speakers,

111 E. 59th St., 5th floor,  
www.greenspeakers.org

## WED JULY 7

7 pm • Free  
*High Times Activist Guide to the RNC - Launch Party*  
Politics, war, and a blowout party.  
The Pioneer Bar, 218 Bowery

7:30pm • Free  
*Independent Media in a Time of War: Video Screening / Discussion*

A collaboration between Democracy Now! and Hudson Mohawke.  
Independent Media Center. Speech given by Amy Goodman, host of Democracy Now!, illustrated by clips of mainstream media juxtaposed with rare footage from independent reporters in Iraq.  
Exit Art, 475 Tenth Avenue (corner 36th Street),  
212.966.7745,  
www.exitart.org

## SUN JULY 11

12:30-2:30 pm • Free  
*Ice Skating*  
Free ice skating at Chelsea Piers every Sunday for the summer.  
The Sky Rink,  
23rd St Hudson River,  
212.336.6100

7 pm • Free  
*Time's UPI RNC Event Planning (BIKES)*  
Time's UPI is planning a series of positive actions during the RNC entirely on bikes. New volunteers welcome.  
Times UPI, 49 East Houston, between Mott and Mulberry  
times-up.org/rnc\_2004.php

## MON JULY 12

8 pm • \$5 suggested donation  
*Movie Night: Discovering Dominga*  
An Iowa housewife and sole survivor of a massacre of Mayan peasants returns to her roots in Guatemala.  
Independent Media Center, 34. E 29th St., www.nyc.indymedia.org

## THURSDAY JULY 15

5 pm • Free  
*Still We Rise Meeting*  
Still We Rise, a coalition of groups from low-income and underrepresented communities is having a RNC planning meeting.  
St. Mark's Church, 2nd Ave. and 10th St.

7 pm • Free  
*NORNC Clearinghouse*  
The noRNC Clearinghouse is a place for different organizations, collectives and groups organizing against the RNC to share resources and ideas.  
St. Mark's Church, 2nd Ave. and 10th St.

## SAT JULY 10 & 17

2:30 pm • Free  
*Community Reporting Workshop*  
Interested in journalism but don't know how to start? Join award-winning journalists from *The Indpendent* and Democracy Now! for a two-part series that covers the basics of research, writing, interviewing. Be the media! For applications call 212.684.8112 or email indywokshop@yahoo.com.  
Independent Media Center, 34. E 29th St., www.nyc.indymedia.org



# HACKERS ON PLANET EARTH

BY ANDY HARRIS

**H**ackers are usually painted as a menace to society, but they play a big role in publicizing the private world of technology. When a group of hackers downloaded Diebold's election software and exposed security holes in the company's electronic voting machines, they sparked a national controversy.

Hackers, says Emmanuel Goldstein, publisher of the hacker magazine *2600*, have a positive and necessary role to play in society. They are simply "people who want to explore and ask questions with computers." By pointing out security holes, he says,

well-meaning hackers actually improve computer security.

Hundreds of hackers will come together at the Fifth HOPE (Hackers on Planet Earth) conference July 9-11 in New York. Held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, the conference will discuss topics ranging from firewalls to social engineering, all with a technology focus. Keynote speakers include Apple founder Steve Jobs, former Dead Kennedys lead singer Jello Biafra, and formerly jailed hacker poster boy Kevin Mitnick.

The mix of technology pioneers and political punk rockers may seem odd, but there is an important overlap between hackers and activists. Many

hackers are active in social and political issues, especially as they relate to technology, and groups like the Electronic Frontier Foundation combine technology and civil liberties advocacy.

With the PATRIOT Act making inroads into personal privacy and new electronic voting systems set to be widely used in the coming election, some hackers are working to develop and distribute encryption systems and educate the public on privacy concerns.

Says Goldstein, "Hackers are the ones who find the hole and show you it's there so you can fix it."

*For more information or to register for the conference, visit [www.hope.net](http://www.hope.net).*

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"If we don't make power moves now...  
we aren't going anywhere as a generation."

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# HIP HOP SCHOOLS THE WORLD

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BY ANA NOGUERA

*INDYPENDENT: Can you talk about how the National Hip Hop Political Convention was conceived, what its mission was and how it was organized?*

**ROSA CLEMENTE:** It was conceived in March 2003 when 15 people from across the United States got together in Chicago. Many of us had been talking about how to use electoral politics as a tactic along with grassroots organizing. So we came together and decided the best thing is to think about creating our own political party. And with that obviously comes a convention and an agenda that needs to be set for the people that you are supposed to represent. Some of our goals are to deal with issues of education, economic development, media conglomeration, human rights, reparations, criminal justice and the prison industrial complex, the criminalization of our communities and also the impending draft.

We have already been asked to present our agenda at both the Democratic and the Republican National Conventions. For the first time ever the hip hop generation is saying we are going to be politically oriented and we are going to garner people's attention because we don't want to just be used, we don't want to just [give the] Democrats our votes.

*Many people are calling this convention historic, insofar as it brought together civil rights leaders and the younger political hip hop generation. Can you talk about connections that were made there and how those will be carried forward?*

It's important to have inter-generational dialogue because often the older generation, particularly the civil rights older generation, not the Black Power nationalist, cultural arts folks, doesn't understand the power of hip hop. They are not seeing that this is an entire generation where, yes, music is important, but there is poetry, there is politics, there is graf, there is break dancing, there is a political nature. It's important for elder folks to know that we are not just out here "bling blinging" and making stupid senseless music. That is coming more from the corporations and what they want to put out. I feel that the Black Power and black nationalist elders are more in tune with what we are saying and doing. They understand hip hop. They understand the culture. They respect it. They critique it. And they give us leadership tools so that we can use hip hop as a tool of resistance. It was important for them to see the work that we are doing and to let them know that we didn't drop the ball.

*Many of the issues you raise are domestic issues. But there was a lot of discussion as well about foreign policy and how the African American community feels about it. Can you talk about that, how the hip hop generation relates to the war in Iraq, in Vieques, etc.*

Hip hop is not just an [expression of the] African-American community. It is a culture of black and brown people, African American and Latino, Asian and Native American. The Native-American community is amazing for what it is doing in hip hop. Artists like Lite Foot are

**M**ore than 3,000 people participated in the first National Hip Hop Political Convention held in Newark, NJ, June 16-19. Their mission: to develop a political agenda and youth leadership for the hip hop generation. The inter-generational dialogue included topics such as new challenges in electoral politics, rethinking grassroots activism, art and responsibility, and mobilizing the religious community. The four-day convention was filled with film screenings, workshops and panel discussions. But the convention wasn't all talk. Hip hop concerts featuring artists such as Doug E Fresh, Wyclef Jean, Rah Digga, MC Lite, Slick Rick and more rocked Newark throughout the weekend. Their presence made an important statement: Hip hop is more than booty videos and bling-bling. It is a vast, global and, yes, political culture.

On the convention's final day, hundreds of delegates from more than 20 states voted on a political platform that outlined solutions to issues affecting the hip hop generation and communities of color. Delegates earned their convention seats by registering at least 50 people to vote. By amassing a powerful hip hop voting bloc, participants hope to bring their issues into the arena of electoral politics and debate, and potentially start their own party and political movement.

After the convention I spoke with Rosa Clemente, journalist, activist and co-founder of the convention.

calling for Native-American reparations, going to pow-wows using hip hop culture, Chicanos, etc. And that follows into the question of internationalism and militarism and war.

Obviously we are dead set against the occupation and the war in Iraq and in Afghanistan, and the occupation that continues in Puerto Rico. We are dead set against the draft. We are not down with magazines or any hip hop organizations taking money from the military to help recruit young men. And we are beginning to oppose the draft now even before they implement it.

I think it is important too for the young people that were there [at the conference]: For some of them it may have been their first time really getting a broad spectrum of issues, including international ones. It is sometimes very hard to organize and do solidarity work, and go to a rally against the occupation in Palestine or them occupation in Iraq, when you have to deal with the issue of police brutality in New York. Our communities are in a constant stage of siege. Terrorism money has now been funnelled to the NYPD for Operation Impact, the police occupations of certain areas of the city labelled "high crime". So [our communities] often don't have the luxury of dealing with the next international issue. But we, as activists and organizers, do.

*How does the Hip Hop Convention relate, if at all, to Russell Simmons's Hip Hop Summit Action Network?*

Russell says the same thing, that everything is political. It's good to hear him say that. I think if he just had the right people around him, hip hop would be so powerful because he has the resources. He has the media. He has the savvy. He has the entrepreneurship for us to get our economic plat-



Dead Prez performs  
for convention delegates.  
Left, Rosa Clemente.

PHOTOS: ANA NOGUEIRA

form out. So it's an issue of how can we finally come together. But [the people involved with the Hip Hop Convention] are also not just about registering people to vote. Registering 50,000 people to vote is phenomenal, but who are they voting for? As Charles Barron said, a lesser of two evils? Do we have to vote that way? Or do we withhold our vote? Essentially Russell is helping the Democratic Party because no one in their right mind, I would hope, in our generation is going to vote for Bush.

*Charles Barron also said when you present the political agenda to the Democrats, if they don't endorse it then the Convention should officially hold its vote as a bloc. Is that being discussed?*

Our communities are dying. So if it means we have to withhold our vote to get the Democrats, black and Latino Democrats too, to finally listen to our generation, then that is what we are going to have to do. Because we can't be used in this election. If we don't make some power moves now and in 2008, we aren't going anywhere as a generation.

*I was disappointed to see that there weren't many white activists at the convention. How we can build some bridges between radical communities across racial lines.*

I don't think anything of it. To me that is the norm. I think our agenda is too radical. We are talking about some real economic justice issues, health issues, criminal justice, human rights, etc., and I think white progressives might not agree with some of these issues. They might not agree with reparations. They have their own views on hip hop culture.

I would say in terms of bridging the gap, I try to do that work all the time. But I think sometimes the white progressive community expects us to say, "Can you please be at this event," or "We need money from you," or whatever. This was a self-sufficient event. I don't think white progressives see the black and Latino community as having the ability of putting on their own amazing event. It is a lot of young people, using a culture they might not understand, and that when you come here, you are not coming here to be a leader. You are coming here to learn about our issues and be led by us. At the end of the day that is the problem. Are white progressives able to follow the leadership of people of color?

*Note: The next National Hip Hop Political Convention will be in Chicago in 2006. For more information, see [www.hiphopconvention.org](http://www.hiphopconvention.org)*

**ANTI-RATNER BLOCK PARTY**  
A couple thousand Brooklynites gathered at 6th Ave. & Pacific St. Sat. June 19 to rally against developer Bruce Ratner's plan to build a basketball arena and 17 high-rises on the site with hundreds of millions of dollars in public subsidies.  
PHOTOS: IRINA IVANOVA



## Landlords say, "Pay up, peasants!" **RENTS GOING UP, AGAIN**

Despite about 200 angry protesters who chanted "We Say No" loud enough to stop the proceedings, the city Rent Guidelines Board slapped rent-stabilized tenants with a 6.5 percent increase on June 17. The rent guidelines, which affect about 1 million apartments, allow increases of 3.5 percent for a one-year lease renewal, 6.5 percent for two years, and half a percentage point less for tenants who pay for their own heat. The board's vote was 6-3, with the two landlord representatives joining four of the five public members. Earlier in the meeting, the RGB voted 7-2 to reject a rent freeze proposed by the two tenant representatives. But in a victory for tenants, it voted 6-3 to freeze rents on single-room occupancy hotels, with each "yes" drawing cheers from the crowd.

BY STEVEN WISHNIA

**F**acing this crowd, I can appreciate more and more how Custer must have felt," landlord representative Harold Lubell announced. "Custer was trying to deprive the Indians of their land," one man wisecracked. "You're a greedy, nasty man," screamed a woman. Lubell was soon shouted down, and the board's red-faced chair, Marvin Markus, called a 15-minute recess. Lubell was booed more when he said, "We can't build more affordable housing with this skewed Mickey Mouse rent system" and called for a 9 percent increase, which was rejected.

What enrages many tenants is that they feel the RGB is either clueless about or insensitive to how marginal many people's finances are. "If they raise the rent even \$50, the average person can't afford it. That's why we have so much homelessness and displacement," said Anna Rivera, a tenant organizer with Good Old Lower East Side, which brought about 75 people to the meeting.

"The people who are already in the process of trying to get out of the shelters are going to take a lot longer, or end up back in the system," said Camilla Fajardo, who spent eight months in a city homeless shelter before finding an apartment in Bedford-Stuyvesant. Angela McLean, a retired Upper East Side woman, noted that the rent on her studio apartment is slowly eating up her savings.

Such sentiments were lost on the RGB majority. They piously intoned the need to "strike a balance" between the needs of tenants and landlords. The only public member to oppose the increase was Martin Zelnik, who cited "the human dimension." Markus, asked after the meeting what he would say to a hypothetical tenant taking home \$400 a week, paying \$760 a month rent, and facing a \$50 increase, responded, "What do I say to an owner who's not meeting expenses? We have to strike a balance. We don't make deals with individual tenants."

The process has begun to disgust many tenants and advocates. Two years ago, when the RGB's in-house studies showed that landlords' operating costs had actually dropped, the board voted for increases of 2 and 4 percent. Last year, when landlords' costs rose significantly while tenants were suffering from the recession, they raised rents by 4.5 and 7.5 percent, the highest increases since the 1980s. This year, the rise in landlords' costs was less than half as much, but the rent increases were only slightly smaller.

RGB tenant representative Adriene Holder sees a couple hidden agendas in the latest increases. The first, she says, is to set the spread between the guidelines for one-year and two-year leases wider, forcing tenants into one-year leases and letting rents go up faster. The second, she speculates, is that the increases

granted are more than what some landlords actually collect, but still push the official rent up closer to the deregulatory threshold of \$2,000. Meanwhile, the landlords' main political ploy is to put the smaller, outer-borough owners forward as struggling, hardworking businesspeople; about 30 showed up at the meeting, cheering and boozing for their side. In reality, most apartments in the city are owned by about 2,000 large real-estate operations.

With the city's supply of affordable housing hemorrhaging away, the tenant movement is looking at two strategies. The first is "inclusionary zoning," requiring developers to include a percentage of affordable housing in any apartments they build. The advantage of this is that with government funds scarce, it leverages private investment dollars. The disadvantage is that it could easily degenerate into the typical "80/20" housing, in which only a token 20 percent of apartments are set aside for low-income tenants, "middle-income" units can cost \$1,800 a month, and large luxury projects drive up rents in the surrounding neighborhood.

The second is repealing the Urstadt law, a legacy of former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's disastrous 1971 vacancy-decontrol law that bans the city from enacting rent controls stronger than the state's. Some upstate and suburban Republicans might be sympathetic to the repeal if it's framed as a home-rule issue, but as long as the state Senate's GOP majority is financed by campaign contributions from city real-estate interests, it's about as unlikely as Utah legalizing gay marriage. A little-discussed possibility is a citywide rent strike to demand lower rents. This would be dangerous, exposing people to violent eviction, and would require a degree of organization about 100 times as massive as what the tenant movement is currently capable of doing. On the other hand, you could have said the same thing about labor unions going on strike in the 1930s.

# SHOWTIME IN STEWART TRIAL

It is a case of a librarian-turned-defense attorney, a New York University graduate student and a Staten Island postal worker who the government claims led a secret life as an Islamic jihadist. It involves a blind spiritual leader jailed in the United States and a fight in Egypt between the government and Islamic groups who want Egypt to become an Islamic state. Osama Bin Laden even makes a guest appearance in the narrative. The latest chapter of the story is playing out now just six blocks from Ground Zero, in courtroom 110 of the old federal courthouse. Welcome to the case of the *United States of America v. Ahmed Abdel Sattar, Lynne Stewart and Mohammed Yousry*.

BY MIKE BURKE

The three defendants face a total of seven counts in criminal conspiracy to illegally help jailed spiritual leader Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman communicate to his followers in the Egyptian-based Islamic Group.

On the morning of June 22 Judge John G. Koeltl opened the proceedings to one of the most-watched terrorism cases since September 11. The courtroom, where Ethyl and Julius Rosenberg were sentenced to die 53 years ago, was packed.

Federal prosecutors began by showing jurors a photograph of a man who was not on trial but already behind bars: Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman aka the blind sheik. Over the next hour the "T" word (some variation of terrorist/terrorism) was uttered 73 times. Osama bin Laden was mentioned, too. Jurors will soon be shown a video of bin Laden in which he announced his intent of breaking the blind sheik out of jail.

The government won't allege any direct connections between bin Laden and attorney Lynne Stewart and her co-defendants, translator and NYU student Mohammed Yousry and postal worker Ahmed Abdel Sattar. But they are essentially accusing the three of committing the very crime bin Laden hoped to accomplish: freeing the blind Sheik.

In the words of prosecutor Christopher Morville: "This is a case about a jail break. Not your typical jail break where a prisoner is freed to once again walk the streets. It is a different type of jail break but one that the evidence will show was equally as dangerous."

The government claims that Stewart abused her authority as the sheik's attorney and violated orders from the Bureau of

Prisons, known as special administrative measures (or SAMs), by helping to illegally pass messages to and from her client who was being held in virtual isolation in a federal prison.

The government charges that in June 2000 Stewart knowingly broke her commitment and issued a press release announcing that the sheik no longer supported a ceasefire in Egypt between the Islamic Group and government of Hosni Mubarak.

While the government has never alleged that any act of violence occurred because of the press release, prosecutor Morville told jurors on Tuesday the the blind sheik's "words and speeches were as dangerous as weapons."

Stewart has never denied issuing the press release but she and her attorney, the famed Michael Tigar argue her actions did not encourage violence and were not illegal. In fact, Tigar argued that Stewart's acted in the interest of her client and to help protect the safety of the country.

## LIGHTNING ROD

During opening arguments, Tigar revealed that Stewart and her co-attorney, the former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, had begun quietly negotiating with the U.S. and Egyptian governments in 1998 to find a way to transfer the blind sheik to an Egyptian jail.

Tigar told jurors, "Ramsey Clark and Lynne Stewart knew that the sheik's continued presence in the United States in an American prison would draw unwanted attention to the United States. His presence would be a lightning rod for radical Islamists and they thought it would be better and safer that the United States in its own interest get him to a prison in another country. The added fact that he

was in poor health and was going to die in somebody's custody made that more urgent."

Clark discussed the idea of a prison transfer with the sheik in 1998 and the sheik agreed it should be pursued. From 1998 and 2001, Tigar argues, that Stewart acted in her client's interest in an attempt to make the prison transfer happen.

"This was not a pipe dream. But the lawyers knew that if their client was involved in a conspiracy to commit lawless violence that would be the end," Tigar said. Tigar went on to say it would have been not in Stewart's interest or her clients interest to issue messages endorsing terrorism, as the government alleges.

Tigar told the jury, "Lynne Stewart did not send out, distribute or communicate any messages that called on arms or that called on people to take violent acts. She didn't lie. She did her lawful job as a lawyer. And, yes, as the evidence will show, members of the jury, Lynne Stewart was trying to make America a safer and more just place."

## LEGAL QUESTIONS

In addition to questions about Stewart's intent in issuing messages from the blind sheik, the jury will be asked to consider several key legal questions. One is the legality of the government imposing restrictions on what lawyers can and can not publicly discuss. The Bureau of Prisons and Justice Department were given the power to impose special administrative measures in 1996 following the Oklahoma City bombing but they have seldom been challenged in such a high-profile case.

Another key issue is attorney-client privilege. Much of the government's case is based on video and audio recordings of meetings between Stewart and her client. The government had obtained a court order to listen and record private conversations in the federal jail, breaking a long-held tradition of attorney-client privacy. The government claims the recordings show that Stewart attempted to deceive the guards by pretending to discuss legal issues with the sheik, while the sheik passed messages in Arabic on to Yousry, the court-appointed translator.

Did Stewart try to prevent guards listening to conversations? Yes, according to her attorney. But Tigar says it was for a far less sinister purpose - preserving her client's confidentiality.

# ACCESS DENIED!

CCNY Professor Arrested for Entering Baruch College

BY HANK WILLIAMS

Bill Crain, a psychology professor at City College of New York, was arrested on June 23 by Baruch College security officers for trying to enter its main building. He was charged with criminal trespass resisting arrest and disorderly conduct. Crain agreed to accept lesser charges and was released early the next day.

Baruch and City College are both part of the City University of New York. Most CUNY campuses are open but Baruch and Hostos Community College in the Bronx have deemed themselves "closed." Visitors from other CUNY schools are not allowed entry except to visit libraries or to visit specific offices. "CUNY proclaims itself to be an integrated university," Crain said. "If so, it also should be an open university. Students and faculty should be able to move freely about all of its campuses."

To draw attention to the issue, Crain and four other CUNY faculty members decided to test Baruch's policy. When denied entrance, Crain went under the turnstile and was arrested. Crain denies resisting arrest.

Crain's arrest drew attention to what many say is a consistent pattern of excessive force by CUNY security officers. "The recent incidents involving the arrest of Bill Crain and a Hostos student, Miguel Malo, are only two instances of a pattern of CUNY security officers violating the constitutional rights of students and faculty," Ron McGuire, an attorney who heads the Student Activist Legal Defense Project, said.

Malo was charged with felonious assault of a police officer after his arrest for holding up a sign protesting cuts to ESL classes.

Last year, security officers at Brooklyn's Medgar Evers College pepper sprayed parents at a graduation ceremony who they claimed were unruly. Student activists at City College have complained of harassment, including the planting of a hidden security camera outside a student center.

Hank Williams, a doctoral student in English at the CUNY Graduate Center, teaches writing at City College, and is a member of the Student Liberation Action Movement.

reporting workshop series in July

SATURDAY  
JULY 10 & 17

2-5 pm • Free

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**PRIDE:** 500,000 people paraded through Manhattan in the annual Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender March on June 27. Alongside the party, participants called for the preservation of gay rights and voiced support for gay marriage.

PHOTOS: FRED ASKEW

# indymedia IN BRIEF

Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations with hundreds of journalists offering news coverage from the grassroots. The following reports are a sample of recent stories posted to local Indymedia websites around the world. To see a complete listing of Indymedia sites, visit [www.indymedia.org](http://www.indymedia.org).

## NYC IMC COURT THROWS OUT FCC MEDIA OWNERSHIP RULES

In a lengthy decision of more than 200 pages, the Third District Court on June 24 told the Federal Communications Commission that its attempts to further deregulate the American media system are unjustified. The court determined that the FCC relied on "irrational assumptions and inconsistencies" in determining the new cross-ownership caps, and ordered the agency to make a new decision that takes seriously its duty to regulate media to preserve the public interest.

## Atlanta IMC TEN JAILED AT THE G8

Fifteen activists were arrested at the 2004 G8 Summit hosted by the United States on Sea Island, Georgia. Ten people were held until June 24 in the Glynn County Jail for exercising what they say was their First Amendment right to speak out. Of the people jailed, four initiated a hunger strike to demand that charges be dropped for all 15 arrested on Thursday's walk to Sea Island. The so-called "Brunswick Ten" were denied access to the press, visitation, and the ability to meet with their lawyers.

## Boston IMC PRE-DNC CRACKDOWN COMMENCES

The Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority has released a "Security Statement" that encourages police and transportation authorities to search bags and personal possessions during the upcoming Democratic National Convention in Boston, which begins on July 26. This policy comes in addition to similar measures, including allowing "police officers to randomly search T riders' bags" to protect riders from "bombs" and "terrorism."

## Rogue Valley, Oregon IMC GREENPEACE GETS TOUGH

In a challenge to Bush administration policies toward U.S. public lands, Greenpeace activists have staged demonstrations this month to help save the ancient forests of Southern Oregon. On June 15, three people locked themselves to a three-ton cargo container that was placed between chainsaws and some 236 acres of old-growth forest at the SouKow timber sale outside of Glendale, Oregon. On June 24, four activists attached themselves to a similar container at the site of the "Peanuts" timber sale in Oregon's Umpqua National Forest.

## Michigan IMC CRITICAL MASS BIKE BUST

Three people were arrested on June 25 at the four-year anniversary of Grand Rapids' monthly Critical Mass bike ride. The three arrestees were all charged with "hindering and opposing an officer," a misdemeanor punishable by up to a \$1000 fine and imprisonment of up to two years.

# GREEN PARTY REVOLT: NADER BID FOR GREEN NOMINATION IS NIPPED IN THE BUD

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

Milwaukee, WI—As the Democrats and Republicans prepare to unveil their rotating stages at this summer's media circus in Boston and New York, a different scenario played out last weekend on the shores of Lake Michigan. Green Party members arrived for their presidential nominating convention in Milwaukee with a large bloc of uncommitted delegates, a contested nomination, and rumors of dissent in the air. As far as political conventions go, this four-day exercise in grassroots democracy was the real deal. Now that the smoke has cleared and Texas lawyer David Cobb has claimed the nomination, it is apparent that the convention's decision has done a great deal to set the future direction of the Green Party and will have a major impact on the 2004 presidential race.

Despite the democratic energy on display in Milwaukee's sparkling Midwest America Convention Center, some critics on the political left have greeted the notion of a 2004 Green presidential run with rage and dismay. Nominating two-time Green presidential candidate Ralph Nader would be "the greatest mistake made by the left in many years," wrote ex-Green Joel Kovel only days before the Milwaukee confab. As accustomed as they are to fending off charges that they cost Democrat Al Gore the presidency ("Al Gore cost himself the presidency," is the inevitable retort), memories of the 2000 election cast a shadow over the convention.

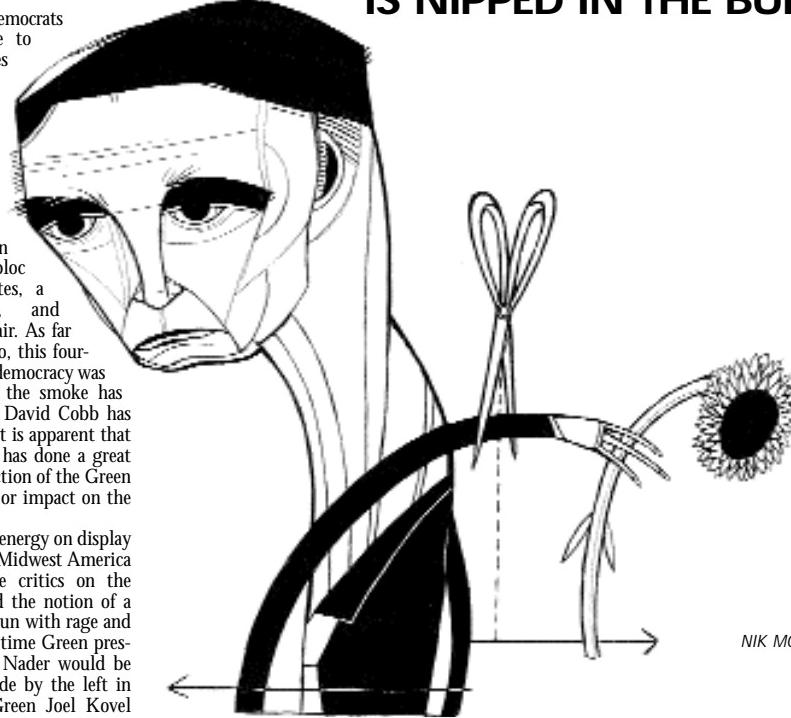
Underneath the weekend's idealistic discussions of grassroots democracy and progressive change were looming questions: How bad has the presidency of George W. Bush actually been? What should be done about it? These questions will help shape the agenda of the U.S. left for at least the next five months, and for better or worse, it was the Greens in Milwaukee who had to wrestle with them first.

## A BEHIND THE SCENES BATTLE

Going into the Milwaukee convention, Nader and Cobb were among the leading candidates for the Green presidential nomination. By Saturday morning, two major camps had emerged. The first sought to nominate Cobb outright; the second looked to support Nader by nominating "no candidate" but endorsing both Cobb and Nader, a move that would allow the individual state parties to decide which of the two men to place on the Green Party ballot line.

Cobb, a native Texan, manager of an ethical investment firm, and long-time Party member, has consistently called himself the "grassroots" Green candidate, drawing a distinction between his candidacy and the celebrity status of Ralph Nader. Controversially, though, Cobb has advocated a "safe state" strategy that would mean only actively campaigning in the 40 or so states considered a lock for either Bush or Kerry, while keeping a lower profile in the remaining "battle-ground" areas.

"Our plan is simple," Cobb said in a written statement. "Build the Green Party and go where Green members want us to go. We do not believe that helping reelect George Bush helps build the Green Party."



and we will work out the details with Greens in each state."

Cobb came into the convention with a plurality of Green delegates – 240 out of the 746 total – but lacked the outright majority needed to win. Nader, for his part, gave mixed signals about the degree to which he plans to campaign actively in battleground states, as well as the actual value of a Green Party endorsement.

Rejecting the Greens to run as an independent, Nader nonetheless made the politically savvy decision to pick well-known Green and fellow candidate Peter Camejo as his running mate only days before the convention. Camejo's Green constituency, combined with Nader's wide-ranging national support, would represent a formidable force on the convention floor.

"Nader's choice of Camejo for his V.P. was a huge decision," said Gloria Mattera, co-chair of the Green Party of New York State. "It helped a lot of people move back toward his candidacy."

Disputes about the impact of a Green run on the 2004 presidential race, as well as the merits of Cobb's campaign strategy, echoed around the Hyatt's hallways as nomination day approached.

Ted Glick, a New Jersey delegate and self-described member of the Cobb team, told *The Indypendent*, "A lot of us feel that letting Ralph Nader run for president again in 2004 could be suicide for the Green Party, and could really alienate a lot of the progressive constituencies that we need to eventually win over from the Democrats."

Others disagreed. "Nader is the whole reason I got involved with the Greens in the first place," said James Lane, a delegate from Brooklyn and one of the few African-

Americans attending the four-day convention. "I never even voted until 2000, and Nader was the only reason I voted at all."

## FLOOR FIGHT

The Saturday nomination fight began a few hours early, launched by an energetic Nader-Camejo Campaign Rally inside the convention center on Friday evening. A few hundred people attended the rally, many of them waving yellow and green Nader signs in the air. Speakers at the rally included New Paltz Mayor Jason West, who gained fame for his acts of civil disobedience in support of gay marriage this spring.

Nader addressed the rally by speakerphone, and was interrupted multiple times by rapturous roars and chants of "Nader! Nader!" The sound of the consumer advocate's disembodied voice urging his supporters forward seemed, in many ways, to capture the contradictions of the convention.

As Saturday dawned, suspense remained over which candidate would garner the 385 delegates needed for victory. The first round of voting ended with no single candidate garnering the majority needed to win. Once again, the assembled states and delegates submitted their votes. Delegates voted without commitment to the nominee that their state had selected during its own Green Party convention weeks earlier this round.

When the second round ended, Cobb emerged the winner, tallying 408 votes. For the first time in their history, the Green Party had nominated a fellow Green for President.



David Cobb accepts the Green Party nomination.

*Marc Frucht of Milwaukee Indymedia and the New Spark Collective contributed to this report.*



## THE HEAT IS ON

Towns from sea to shining sea began screening Michael Moore's documentary, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, beginning at 12:01 a.m. Friday morning, the 25th of June, 2004. For the majority of people who saw this movie, the experience was like nothing short of a mind-bomb.

BY WILLIAM RIVERS PITTS

**T**hose Americans who believed what their President told them because they saw it on the TV will, after less than two hours in their local theater, look at both their television and their President with doubt and loathing when they walk from the darkness into the bright light of day. There are millions of Americans who believed what they were told – about 9/11, about Iraq, about George W. Bush himself – who will come into that bright light with the realization that they have been lied to.

Most Americans don't know about this stuff, and seeing it fully documented and meticulously researched on the big screen will be, to say the least, revelatory.

Mr. Moore put two daggers into me with this film, the first of which had to do with U.S. soldiers. Trooper after trooper spoke frankly for Moore's camera, condemning both the war and the people who thrust

them into it. Several scenes graphically explained what happens to a soldier's body when it is caught in an explosion. The result is ruinous, and the cries of the wounded and the dying will ring in my ears forever.

The most wrenching scenes in the film center around a woman named Lila, who loves her country, loves her flag, and above all loves her children, whom she actively persuaded to join the armed services. We learn that Lila has a son in Iraq, and because of that, she despises those protesting the invasion. We find out later that her son was killed in Karbala on April 2nd, when his Blackhawk helicopter was shot down. We watch her read her son's last letter home, in which he rages against Bush and the war. We last see Lila standing at the gates of the White House, tears boiling from her eyes, as she discovers her true enemy, the one who took her baby from her.

The other dagger Moore put into me came during his montage of the media cov-

erage of the war. Journalist after journalist is shown rhapsodizing Bush, his administration and the war. Each and every one of them carried forth that which we now know to be bald-faced lies: That Iraq had WMDs, that Iraq was a threat, that we had to go, and that everything is fine. It was a slideshow of the nonsense Americans have been spoon-fed for far too long.

With a single stroke, Michael Moore has undone three years of poor, slanted, biased, factually bereft, compromised television journalism. This, in the end, is the final greatness of *Fahrenheit 9/11*. Not only will Americans get a sense of the depth of the deception they have endured, but journalists all across the country will be forced to endure the humiliation they so richly deserve.

*Fahrenheit 9/11* is not a victory for anyone. We the People should have known better. We the People should have been given the facts before sending 851 of our children to die. We the People have been betrayed, by our leaders and by a media that profited, and profits still, from the daily sale of lies. This film drove that horrid fact home with a mallet, and it hurt.

*William Rivers Pitt is the author of War on Iraq: What Team Bush Doesn't Want You To Know and The Greatest Sedition is Silence. A longer version of this article originally appeared on www.truthout.org.*

## F911 IS OVERRATED

BY JOHN TARLETON

I'm still waiting to be blown away. I went to the 12:01 a.m. screening of *F911* on the day it opened. I couldn't wait. Two hours later, I left the theater with a vague sense of disappointment. Michael Moore's firebombing of the Bush administration is damn good propaganda and a much-needed public service. But, *F911* is not Moore's best movie. *Bowling for Columbine* is. In *Bowling*, Moore takes his audience on a wild ride through the underside of America as he tries to tease out an answer to an unknowable question: why is this country so damn violent?

In *F911*, Moore already has an answer – George W. Bush is a scheming, mean-spirited bumbler who should be voted out of office – and he wants to make you agree. Of course, if you haven't been paying attention

over the past 3 1/2 years, you're in for some rude surprises. Military recruiters prey on poor kids. War degrades everyone it touches and is a source of unbearable agony to both Iraqi and American mothers who lose their children. The "War on Terror" is a put on to distract people while the politically-connected U.S. oil industry make a desperate lunge for control of the last of the world's major oil reserves. And Bush loves the rich ("Some call you the elite. I call you my base," he jokes at a black-tie fundraiser) just like his daddy loves those Saudi princes.

Whether Bush wins or loses, he will have the support of the roughly 40-50% of American voters who fervently share his belief in the U.S.'s unlimited right to dominate the world. Why?

I hope Moore explores this in the future. If so, he will pick up where he left off with *Bowling for Columbine*.

## FAR RIGHT GOES BONKERS

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

**T**he battle over Michael Moore's scathing new documentary, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, began long before the film was released to theaters nationwide on June 25. In addition to the well-publicized refusal of Walt Disney Pictures to distribute the film, Moore has faced attacks from prominent Republican operatives, grumbling from science-fiction author Ray Bradbury, a concerted grassroots campaign by conservatives to pressure local theaters not to release the film and numerous charges of inaccuracy and the distorting of facts. Not surprisingly, the controversy may have been just what Moore wanted – the film to an estimated \$23.9 million on its opening weekend, making it the most popular debut for any documentary film.

The initial showdown between Moore and top Disney executives has been widely reported. When the Disney corporate board blocked its subsidiary Miramax from distributing *Fahrenheit 9/11*, Moore claimed that Disney feared losing its corporate tax breaks in Florida (a state where it has its most profitable theme parks and where Jeb Bush is governor). Miramax executives Bob and Harvey Weinstein personally acquired all rights to *Fahrenheit* on May 30 and are using The Fellowship Adventure Group, a new special-purpose company, to distribute the film.

The battle over *Fahrenheit 9/11* has gone well beyond the corporate boardroom in the last three weeks, however. A right-wing group called Move Forward America recently launched an Internet campaign to pressure local movie theaters not to show *Fahrenheit 9/11*. "Why on earth are any movie theaters showing this film?" the site asks. "*Fahrenheit 9/11* should be shown as a recruiting video for Al-Qaeda, not in our movie theaters." Local theater executives need to be "overwhelmed with letters, phone calls and faxes, in addition to emails," says the site, which includes the contact information for dozens of local cinemas.

Although Move Forward America calls itself a "grassroots" citizens group, an investigation by online blogger Kurt Nimmo revealed that the group was founded and financed by "diehard Republicans, anti-tax activists, and former legislative staffers." Additionally, the PR firm that owns and operates the Move Forward website is Russo Marsh & Rogers, a GOP consulting firm.

Moore's supporters are fighting back. Pro-Moore websites include the same lists of theater contact information and encourage readers to contact cinemas in support of the film. Most amazing of all, however, is the extraordinary length gone to by Michael Moore himself to defend *Fahrenheit*. According to a recent article in the *New York Times*, Moore has retained well-known Democratic Party strategist Chris Lehane, a master of the art of political opposition research. Moore has also hired a bevy of fact-checkers led by an ex-*New Yorker* editor to pick the movie apart, and told the *Times* "any attempts to libel me will be met by force."

In the end, there will probably be two ways to determine ultimate victory in the battle over *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The first will come at the box office. The second, of course, will come on the first Tuesday in November.



## The Republican National Convention Is Coming to New York City

# THE PERFECT STORM

**N**obody knows exactly what's going to happen, but Bush is in the doghouse here in New York and activists and radicals are getting ready for the mother of all show downs.

**A**s the *Indydependent* goes to press... the NYPD has issued permits to ten groups that want to hold rallies outside Madison Square Garden during the RNC. Negotiations continue between city officials and the anti-war coalition United for Peace and Justice for a permit for an Aug. 29 rally and march of 250,000 people.

#### City Council: Let 'em march

The New York City Council overwhelmingly passed a resolution June 21 calling upon the mayor and other city officials to protect the First Amendment rights of protesters at the Republican National Convention this August.

Spearheaded by the Bill of Rights Defense Campaign of the NYCLU and introduced by Speaker Gifford Miller and Councilmember Bill Perkins, the largely symbolic resolution calls for immediate action on granting permits and an end to the use of "protest pens."

#### Closures Announced for MSG

Mayor Michael Bloomberg has announced sweeping plans to shut down dozens of blocks near Madison Square Garden when the Republican National Convention is in town and to severely limit how close protesters can get to the Garden.

Under the plan announced on June 25, the intersection of 31st Street and 8th Avenue is the "designated protest area." United for Peace and Justice Spokesperson Bill Dobbs told reporters, "We couldn't fit very many people in that corner. We've asked to march by Madison Square Garden, not be stuck in a pen."

The New York Civil Liberties Union also expressed concern. The NYCLU's Executive Director Donna Lieberman said, "We're concerned these rules were promulgated without one single permit being issued and we're worried they may restrict protest activity. The mayor does not get to re-write the First Amendment just because the RNC is coming to town."

The NYCLU announced it would object to any plan that involves searching individuals who plan to protest, absent any specific concern or suspicion. The group said protesters both for or against the RNC should be heard and welcomed along with the convention delegates.

For particular closure listings and conditions, check [RNCWatch.org](http://RNCWatch.org).

#### U.S. Poor to U.N.: We Need Human Rights Observers at RNC

The Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign has called for international human rights observers to attend the RNC. The group said in a statement, "Outside international intervention is needed to make visible the fact that human rights violations are happening here in the United States. In the aftermath of September 11, the measures introduced in the context of the 'war on terror' are having negative impact on those of us doing human rights work in the United States."

The fun begins on August 20 with the Life After Capitalism conference. Activity against the Republican National Convention kicks off on Friday, August 27 with a Critical Mass ride and speakers organized by the National Immigrant Solidarity Network.

Sunday, August 29, peace and social justice groups will flex their muscle with a march and rally organized by United for Peace and Justice, an umbrella of more than 1,000 groups. They will be joined by the Million Billionaire March staged by the Billionaires for Bush.

On August 30 — the day the Republican National Convention begins — the Still We Rise Coalition is organizing a march and rally in Times Square that will likely draw many young protesters and people of color. The same day, the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign is sponsoring the March for Our Lives near the United Nations.

August 31 will be the big day for anarchists and networks of radicals that sprung out of the global justice movement as direct actions take place around the city. A conference on single-payer healthcare also starts on the 31st, organized by the Campaign for a National Health Program Now. The Central Labor Council is moving its annual Labor Day March to Wednesday, September 1.

Not In Our Name is issuing a general call for a million people in the streets during the four-day convention. The *Indydependent* spoke with the visionaries and activists organizing the city's reply to the RNC. Below is a selection of interviews. For more, check out [nyc.indymedia.org](http://nyc.indymedia.org)

#### Frank Morales

*Campaign to De-Militarize the Police, RNC Direct Action Working Group*

This summer in New York will be the opening round of a revolutionary decade. That might be overstating it a bit, but I do feel that deep down people are sensing the need to exert their power. It may be that we need a radical solution to resonate with the depth of the problem. It's not enough to be dissatisfied. We want change and change is about power.

I'm not suggesting a clear ideology is motivating people. It's more of a soul movement. Any time we allow or witness or participate in the kind of atrocities taking place in Iraq, Palestine and around the globe we suffer a diminished humanity. Bush's crude and brutal leadership flaunts his sensibilities and acts as if it isn't – it all adds up to a sense that "life is becoming cheaper."

We are facing a real police state. Lunatics are running the show with a pathology that they've set loose on the world. It is feeding people's sense of urgency. Let me put the NYPD on notice: we're not going to be afraid.

#### L.A. Kauffman

*United for Peace and Justice*

United for Peace and Justice is planning an enormous march and rally for Sunday, Aug. 29, the day before the Convention begins. It will be a curtain-raiser and kick-off for the whole week. The headlines on the first day of the convention be that hundreds of thousands of people are in the streets opposing the Bush agenda. Overwhelming numbers of people are coming to New York, not just for this one day, but with the hope that many will stick around for the entire week.

Whether we get the permits or not, people are coming to town. I don't think they're going to show up and be silent. They can't deny the permits because there are "too many"

into their jails. Strategic direct action isn't passive. If we're able to disrupt the proceedings non-violently through sheer force of numbers, we can create an opening that will last well beyond the RNC.

This is the power of working people to strike, to "slow down," to express their deep disagreements with what this administration is: more for the rich and less for the rest. All the movement's preparations for the RNC are about galvanizing the force that's already there. It just needs organization and clearly articulated demands.

The city would be very foolish to deny us permits. People are planning to come to NYC in huge numbers on Aug. 29. It's really in the city government's interest to facilitate the protests. You would think they would have gotten some common sense after the police misconduct during the Feb. 15 anti-war protests last year. One imagines that they're feeling powerful external political pressures. It's hard to say who's in charge of policing now. We've seen repeated instances from F15 to the serious, violent repression during the Miami FTAA protests where the federal government has intervened and directed policing of a local event. So, I think it's very hard to say who's ultimately calling the shots.

We are facing a real police state. Lunatics are running the show with a pathology that they've set loose on the world. It is feeding people's sense of urgency. Let me put the NYPD on notice: we're not going to be afraid.



EMERSON



ART ATTACK from No RNC Poster Collective & others.

people. It won't work. I don't want to get into too much speculation about what's going to happen except to say that this is going to be huge, historic and not to be missed.

#### Jamie

*RNCnotwelcome.org*

If we kick their ass in the early part of the week, we're going to inspire people to come out into the streets and join us. People like winners. Getting your ass kicked and capitulating to whatever authorities tell you is not an inspiring model. Roving bike blocs, sneaking into events, wildcat marches – just harassing the shit out of the GOP delegates is going to create a mosaic of interesting, militant resistance. It will be a different place. We want NYC to be different. It's our duty to confront them. They're coming to our home turf.

#### Tanya Mayo

*Not In Our Name Network*

We're sending a message around the world that the people of the United States really are separate from our government.

There are a ton of parties and corporate-sponsored events planned for the week of the RNC – ample opportunities for disruption. On the evening of Aug. 29 after the big march, 13,000 Republican delegates are hitting 13 sanitized Broadway shows. They're not seeing Urinetown or Rent. It's Disney, Disney, Disney. They've got a "Breakfast at Tiffany's" with Gov. Pataki's wife, parties at Cipriani's, Tavern on the Green and, I shit you not, the "Hispanic Event sponsored by Coca-Cola" at the Copacabana. They're all sponsored by a who's who of corporate misfits.

The reason people should disrupt delegate events is because that's where the deals are being made. The events inside MSG are just window-dressing. The cliché re-coronation, the ritual of it all. It's the events, parties and fundraisers – that's where the action is at.

We are anarchists and for direct action, but we're native New Yorkers. There's this idea out there about these "rootless activists" floating from city to city causing trouble, but this situation is very different. New York City is so anti-Bush, that there will be understanding and support for more confrontational tactics.

jailing of people of color. It's like the policies against our home countries.

The word we're getting is that people believe in using any and all means to resist. Anything from voting to mass actions in the street to community forums and surveys. People are also saying over and over that we need to use all of them. Not necessarily any one without the other.

One of the things that could be really exciting, and there is history here to be made, is a more serious and accountable relationship among activists and communities of color within the United States. This is a unique opportunity to connect the growing direct action movement with struggles rooted in mass-based organizing around workers' issues, gentrification, immigrant rights, prisons – the everyday conditions of our lives. The relationships have started to build and lines of accountability have started to form.

We're planning borough-wide "consultas" over the summer. The basic idea is to bring together communities trying to effect change. We face similar conditions even if we come from different neighborhoods and places in the world. If we spend most of our time engaging regular folks, anything can happen.

#### Cheri Honkala

*Kensington Welfare Rights Union, Poor People's Economic Human Rights Cam.*

We're going on record: with or without a permit, we'll be marching Aug. 30 from the United Nations to the doors of the Republican National Convention. Poor people are not happy with what's happening and we're not happy that we're being made to disappear. Of all the coverage of the different things going on around the world, our everyday lives are just gone from the television. The most hidden stories are the casualties from the domestic war. We're talking about children being taken from their mothers because of poverty, because there's no affordable housing. Our children going to jail because they're criminalized, not rehabilitated. It's not a statistic that over 44 million people are without healthcare. That's life.

Our "March For Our Lives" will be successful if here at home, and around the world, people are clear that human rights violations really exist in America and that we are determined to change things in our own country. In order to do something about the problem, you first have to know it exists. We won't be invisible.

We don't have money for hotel rooms for all the poor people that believe speaking up is the single most important thing we can do right now and who are coming to New York. We're building encampments called "Bushvilles," like they built "Hoovervilles" during the Great Depression, because Bush is





## WORD ON THE STREET

No RNC Poster Collective Paints the Town Red

By RYAN NUCKEL

The No RNC Poster Project started when a small group of friends with experience in graphic design and independent media came together to collect and distribute poster art against this summer's Republican National Convention.

Our original plan was to print a small number of posters in a newspaper-format booklet and then move on to a different project. The response to our call for submissions was overwhelming. Who knew there were so many pissed-off graphic designers out there? We got such a wealth of great work from people around the country that we've been expanding the project ever since.

On June 23, we got 2,000 sets of 19 different poster designs back from the printers. We called the book *Our City, Our Walls* in order to emphasize two of our concerns: the Republicans' exploitation of the suffering of September 11, and the Bush and Bloomberg administrations' attacks on free speech since that awful day.

The designs people have sent so far cover a wide range of styles and perspectives. We're doing our best to get them out on the web, in the street and posted up in apartment windows, bookstores, coffee shops and storefronts. They will be everywhere you (or the invading Republicans) look.

The project has gained a lot from the internet era. We've reached artists across the country, instantly exchanged poster designs and raised money from strangers.

Whether our message gets out to the eight million New Yorkers depends mostly on footwork: hitting the pavement, handing out posters one at a time, putting them up ourselves and dropping batches with local groups and friendly spaces across the five boroughs.

Rather than leave it to the media and authorities to represent our concerns, the poster project is an attempt to take our message into our own hands. New York is our city, not Bush's or Bloomberg's. When 50,000 Republicans descend upon Manhattan for a week of morbid celebration, even the walls will tell them they're not welcome.

We've already surpassed our original goals and are planning more. We want to print stickers and new posters, plus expand our website and talk to activist groups about promoting their events.

Check us out at [www.norncposters.org](http://www.norncposters.org) or [www.visualresistance.org](http://www.visualresistance.org)

## RNC VISIONS from p.9

the person most responsible for the condition we are in. We built Clintonville during other times, but it's Bush right now. These encampments are a tool that will get the message out all summer long among farmworkers, public housing tenants, welfare recipients and homeless people – among everyone.

Our country is up for debate and discussion around the entire world. We are conscious of using the American flag so that people are clear when they see pictures of people sleeping outside in a lot at one of the Bushvilles that we're not talking about just Brazil or Africa, we're talking about the USA.

We believe that in order to change things, the people most impacted by an issue need to be involved and leading that work. That's why poor people across this country are not surviving this administration. We're the first to go on the Titanic and the Titanic is going down right now.

Graziela Tanaka  
*New York City AIDS Housing Network  
Still We Rise Coalition*

Most of what we want is recognition; that people see the uniqueness of the Still We Rise Coalition. We are not just another general march, we are marching for all the specific issues and policies that impact low-income communities in New York City. All of the groups work on campaigns to change policies in five issue areas – Civil Rights/Criminal Justice, Housing/Homelessness, Healthcare/HIV/AIDS, Welfare, and Immigration.

We want to show the power of our communities marching and use that to build on our campaigns and achieve real effective change. I feel like the media can protect us. If enough cameras are out there, the police are less likely to be violent. Right now, around 35 groups have signed on. We're pretty proud of that considering it's so hard to work in coalition in this city while trying to be effective on your own campaigns. I hope this will set a good precedent for collaborating in the future. We want to set a really good feeling for groups marching together because our work in coalition doesn't end August 30th, nor after the elections, the work goes on.

**Jim Lesczynski**  
*Manhattan Libertarian Party*

The LP is announcing, not organizing, a no-permit-required gathering for Central Park on Aug. 29 at the same spot the city denied permits for UFPJ on the Great Lawn. We're going to protest this unprovoked, undeclared war in Iraq, the occupation that persists and the Patriot Act. Our point is that if you ask the government for permission to protest it, you deserve to be told no. The only permit we need is the First Amendment, which says we have the right to peacefully assemble.

We will not be participating in the RNC. We hate the Republicans. People associate us with the right, but the far-right disgusts us. We're totally opposed to this administration's foreign policy and civil liberties policy. We're about freedom and they're not.

Gabriel  
*No-name affinity group, Brooklyn*

We've attempted to replicate what happened in Seattle through North America in the last few years. The global justice movement expresses itself most dramatically and publicly in these large convergences. These mobilizations are fun, exciting, energizing. But it isn't organizing. It's more about creating an event, a moment, rather than facilitating a movement. If the goal is only to take over the streets for a week, we're wasting our time.

We're not making any demands, except that we want a free world. That's just a beautiful, wonderful vision. But it's only a vision. It needs to guide our work, but it can't be the thing that we demand one day every few months when the rich and powerful get together and give us an excuse.

I would love to see the global justice movement start to take itself seriously enough to think strategically. If we're talking about globalization, let's talk about the local manifestations. The white sectors of the global justice movement have come under such heavy criticism for the implicit leadership structures and lack of analysis around white supremacy. People have tried to respond and there's a push to change things. Here's a real chance to build

alliances with community-based organizations and to figure out how these different movements can support and work with each other.

The direct action movement isn't talking to middle America. It's mostly people disaffected enough to come to a protest. That's not totally useful. What this moment provides is a time for clear demands. When we say we want a free world, that's a question for local struggles to answer.

If we have anything, it's visions. If we can connect those hopes with material, daily reality, then I think that we will become effective – more effective than just "getting the word out."

**Robert Lederman**  
*Street Artist*

Considering what this protest faces in terms of a massive police presence, blocked streets, pens, etc. what good will a permit be anyway? Thousands are likely to be arrested regardless of what they do or don't do and tens of thousands are likely to never be allowed to reach the protest area.

Organizers have spent more than a year trying to professionally organize RNC protests according to City guidelines so that they will be safe, orderly and effective. The problem is the City and the GOP just don't want there to be any protest. They not only don't want a giant protest, they don't want there to even be one sign visible at Ground Zero when Bush and Giuliani continue their "hero" charade at the site in front of the world media.

Perhaps the solution is a dispersed protest everywhere in NYC at once, with protest signs on every street corner rather than all in one spot; with hundreds of thousands of individual protesters walking up and down on all the Midtown streets with signs and with no permit (none is needed to do this). If 100,000 protesters come to Central Park as individuals or in groups of 20 or less, no permit will be needed there either. The only way the City could stop that protest would be martial law and that would say more about the GOP than any protest.

FOR BREAKING NEWS about the RNC and organizing events, check [nyc.indymedia.org](http://nyc.indymedia.org), [RNCnotwelcome.org](http://RNCnotwelcome.org) and [CounterConvention.org](http://CounterConvention.org)

## THE JACKASS FACTOR

# BOSTON GETS READY FOR THE DEMS

BY PETE STIDMAN  
*BOSTON INDYMEDIA*

In just weeks, John Kerry will be nominated in Boston as the Democratic presidential candidate and tens of thousands will be there to state their opposition to both parties. "Anyone but Bush" is the irresponsible mantra of the liberal left. The truth is that the sad state of this country has less to do with Bush than it does the system that brought him to power. It is more than the inequities of the electoral college or some vote-hacking governor down in Florida.

This is about being ruled under a system created by 39 rich white guys back in 1787 with no working model of a democracy, and no conception of changes to society the future would bring. It is about a fundamentally undemocratic electoral system that creates governments that can only be held accountable by the corporations that fund their campaigns and political parties. This is about a people who are not represented by their government.

If you are protesting Bush at the RNC, then it follows that you would do well to pay a rowdy visit to Kerry and the DNC is only a cheap (\$10) bus ticket away in Boston July 25th-29th, because it doesn't matter who wins.



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## commentary

**B**y holding their convention in New York, the Republicans have handed the left a historic opportunity. There is a phenomenal outpouring of activity. Literally thousands of political groups plan to protest at the RNC. Yet what are we opposing? Since the Battle of Seattle, the left has gone from fighting a system, corporate globalization, to fighting a symptom, imperialism, to fighting a personality, Bush.

We need to go back to fighting the system. The RNC allows the left to reorient strategically by combining the anti-war and anti-Bush activism with the broader goals of the global justice movement. Doing so informs how to respond to Bush as well as Kerry and forging an agenda beyond the election.

# SEIZE THE MOMENT

BY A.K. GUPTA

The first step is to defeat the Bush administration, if only out of self-preservation. Its "war on terror" is a war of prosecution, intimidation, disruption, harassment, surveillance, imprisonment waged against any organized opponents.

The beauty is, we can take Kerry for granted and shun his more war, more free trade, more anti-abortion judges agenda.

Kerry is awash in cash and has the full support of the Democratic Party and its allies. The AFL-CIO is committing 1,000 paid organizers to work for the Democrats in swing states, and member unions are contributing even more troops — some 2,000 from the Service Employees International Union alone.

MoveOn, with \$10 million from George Soros, is mobilizing the Democratic faithful. The big environmental and women's organizations are solidly behind Kerry.

Protest organizers are wisely framing the RNC activity as part of a long-term effort. UFPJ has a broad agenda, but limited resources, so it is concentrating on RNC protests and ending the Iraq war, with a secondary effort on civil liberty issues and anti-corporate globalization. Still We Rise is taking a programmatic approach by zeroing in on five issue areas: housing and homelessness, healthcare and HIV/AIDS, criminal justice and civil liberties, immigrant rights, and welfare.

But the lack of a broader strategy may result in missed opportunities. For one, while UFPJ is calling for protests at the Democratic National Convention in Boston and lent organizational weight toward that end, there has not been an outpouring of response.

The Kerry campaign takes radicals and progressives for granted, so it tacks right. A decisive majority of Americans have turned against the occupation of Iraq, yet the Democratic establishment still supports the war, doing its bit for imperialism.

The left should exploit the contradiction between the anti-war base and the pro-war "leadership" by causing the Democratic Party grief in the streets of Boston.

We may also miss out on a social forum during the RNC. Mass protests raise visibility and energize movements, but activists need an over-arching forum to discuss issues, build alliances and develop strategy. A social forum is planned for Boston, but the organizing for one in New York has yet to gel.

There has to be a return to directly confronting capitalism. The global justice movement united broad forces in challenging privatization, the gutting of social welfare and the notion that the free market equals democracy.

One aspect of neoliberalism, however, is often overlooked — the privatization of governance. Corporations and private think tanks write legislation that becomes law. Private companies compile files on vast numbers of people for use by police forces. Republican-friendly corporations rig elections

with flawed voting machines and purges of Democrats from voting rolls. The WTO and NAFTA set global policies in closed-door sessions. Secret arbitration panels overturn national laws. Corporate "rights" trump the public good.

The neoliberal strategy is simple: How can you oppose what you don't even know exists?

The Iraq War is not just an imperialist adventure, but a neoliberal one — both in the plan to sell-off the Iraqi state and its oil resources, which the resistance has thwarted, and the outsourcing of reconstruction to White House cronies and the use of thousands of "security contractors."

It's no coincidence that the prison systems in the United States and Iraq rely on unaccountable corporations with unknown guards engaged in systematic torture of inmates. The beast is the same, the fight is the same. The trick is how to understand it and organize.

The wall between the anti-war and the global justice movement needs to be torn down. The anti-war movement needs to broaden into one against the "war on terror." We can conceive of the Iraq war as part of that, but differently from the right.

Reactionary governments in the U.S., Israel, India, Russia and elsewhere mask privatization and eliminating the welfare state under the war on terror. And the anti-terrorist legislation is used freely against dissidents, labor, immigrants and the poor.

And we need to deal with the reality of pissed-off fanatics bent on blowing up Americans while steering clear of the trap that military might equals security. White House officials tell us to expect a terrorist attack before the election. The Bush administration would probably welcome it, calculating that another horrific attack would drive voters into their camp.

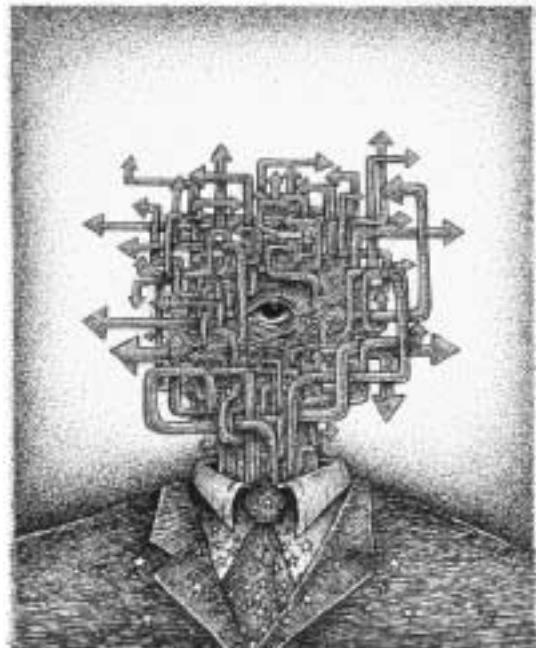
The Republicans are already using the fear factor to try to depress turnout at RNC protests. We should counter this by engaging the general public with a vision of hope in contrast to the right's regime of terror.

Activists need to shift with greater urgency from organizing each other to engaging communities and person-to-person contact.

Still We Rise is planning a door-knocking campaign and "consultas" in the four major boroughs. UFPJ has an ambitious schedule of outreach at street fairs, festivals and public events throughout the summer. Welfare rights groups plan more "bushvilles" to reach out to poor and homeless people. All of these should be actively supported.

While the Democrats represent one pole of neoliberalism, they are not as vicious as the Republicans. Despite Clinton's right-wing agenda, the living wage movement and the global justice movement flourished under him. A Kerry presidency broadens the space for organizing, even if much of his agenda is the same as Bush's.

That's why we need to remember the Democrats will do nothing positive unless we force them to.



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## Talking with Tom Hayden

### From Chicago '68 to New York Summer

**C**hicago '68. There's never been an American political convention quite like it. At the height of the Vietnam War, police and protesters battled on national television for four nights during the Democratic National Convention. Tom Hayden, co-founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was one of eight defendants later tried and acquitted on federal conspiracy charges. Hayden later went on to serve 18 years in the California state legislature without abandoning his radical vision. He recently spoke with *The Independent* about the prospects for this year's Republican National Convention.

INTERVIEW BY JOHN TARLETON

#### How do you see the 2004 RNC protests compared with what you experienced in Chicago in 1968?

TH: They'll be bigger by a thousand fold. [Chicago mayor Richard] Daley and the police really frightened people out of coming and it was a hardy handful who were there. I believe most days it was a thousand people. And on the final day it might have been 6,000. I think between 100,000 and ten times that many will be in New York. And that influences the character of everything including the strategy of the Department of Homeland Security.

#### So far no permits have been issued...

There they go (laughs). People are entitled to march without a permit. When you have a few hundred thousand people on the street you have permission.

The politicians of New York have everything that is necessary to make proper decisions and they will have to live with what happens afterwards. The worst scenario is the politicians covering their eyes and turning it over to the FBI.

#### What do you think of the "Miami model," used by police to suppress protests at the recent Free Trade Area of the Americas summit, and the possibility it could be deployed in Boston and New York at this summer's political conventions?

Well, it would certainly be the plan. But remember in Miami there were only a couple thousand protesters in a city that is heavily Republican and includes a lot of right-wing terrorists. It was favorable territory for the police. They had the protesters outnumbered 10-to-1. They had planted undercover agents inside the protests to stir up trouble in order to justify all the overtime. They shut down the downtown business district, themselves destroying a lot of small businesses which lost everything for two weeks.

The alternative model would be the Mexican police in Cancun. They had thousands of officers on the street with plastic shields and, at most, batons. There were virtually no shots fired. When people did civil disobedience they were surrounded and contained for several hours of negotiations and then removed on air-conditioned busses back to the scene of their encampment. It was a very strange and wondrous thing. The Mexican police seemed to have adopted the view that they should respect the protesters' dignity.

#### Do you think the Republicans chose New York looking for a confrontation with anti-Bush protesters?

The primary objective was to identify with 9/11. At the same time, they were hoping the Democrats would be associated with New York radicals who were burning flags and carrying posters of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden and then the police could thrash them and it would consolidate the Republicans as the party of protection.

But it's all unraveled. The war was supposed to be over. The troops were supposed to be coming back. The flowers were supposed to be on the streets of Baghdad. There were supposed to be no questions about the meaning of 9/11. Everything has changed.

I don't agree with protesters who have a platform of 50 separate demands. That's crazy. It leads to too many speakers who are boring at rallies that are too long. Demonstrations are always shaped by the overall climate. Bush is outrageously exploiting 9/11 while acting like a cheap bastard to New Yorkers.

#### After all your years of activism, do you still think another world is possible?

Yeah! I think another world is being built. I think the global justice movement — which is primarily young people — is building another world. I think what is happening in Chiapas, Bolivia and Brazil and Argentina is a part of another world being built.

The anti-war movement being the largest ever before a war is a part of a rejection of imperial empire. Gays and lesbians getting married as an act of civil disobedience is a sign of life. I think this New York demonstration will be a chapter in a longer story.

# NEWS IN BRIEF

## ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS DEMONSTRATE IN SPAIN

Following a demonstration of more than 5,000 on June 5, thousands of illegal immigrants living in Catalonia occupied Barcelona Cathedral and the Santa Maria del Pilar church. The "sin papeles" (without papers) demanded permanent residency, a repeal of current immigration laws, and an end to police assaults and harassment.

The protesters were violently expelled the next morning, and at least 25 are being deported. Solidarity demonstrations occurred in cities throughout Spain, and more demonstrations in the future.

## ...AND FRANCE

More than 80 illegal immigrants marched from Brussels to Paris to protest their treatment. The march concluded on June 12 with a demonstration in Paris. The "sans-papiers" were demanding the right to live and work in Europe legally.

## LEVI'S SUPPLIER BUSTS UNION IN HAITI

After its workers went on strike, Dominican Republic clothing company Grupo M locked-out workers at its Ouanaminthe plant, which manufactures Levi's jeans. Grupo M also fired more than half the workers. Neil Kearney, general secretary of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, said workers were protesting at the Ouanaminthe Free Trade Zone "because of inhuman treatment including violence, intimidation, harassment, forced stripping of women union leaders, beatings, kidnappings and non-payment of wages." The Grupo M plant was built using a \$20-million loan from the World Bank.

## US OPERATES GLOBAL PRISON NETWORK

According to *The Observer*, the United States and its allies have disappeared thousands of detainees into an invisible global network of prisons. Since September 11 supposed militants have been moved around the world, often in secret operations that violate extradition laws. Prisoners are sent from the West to countries in Asia and the Middle East that use torture and information is sent back.

The exact number of prisoners held is unknown, but government officials say more than 3,000 al-Qaeda operatives have been arrested in the past three years. The largest American-run facilities are at the Bagram airbase in Afghanistan, Guantanamo Bay and in Iraq, where tens of thousands of detainees are held. The United States has also sent prisoners to foreign prisons in Morocco, Syria, Egypt, Baku, Azerbaijan, Thailand, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Oman.

Perhaps the best-known story of prisoner extradition is that of Syrian-born Canadian Maher Arar, who was arrested in late 2002 during a stopover in New York. After several days of questioning, the 34-year-old was flown to Jordan, where the CIA handed him over to local security officials. He was repeatedly tortured in Jordan before being driven to Syria, where he was kept in solitary confinement in a 6 ft by 3 ft cell for several months and regularly beaten with cables. All charges were dropped on his release.

American officials are unrepentant. *The Observer* quoted one as saying, "You have to break eggs to make omelettes... The world is a bad place."



## CENTRAL AMERICANS STAND UP TO TRADE AGREEMENT

# BASTA CAFTA

BY NEELA GHOSHAL

When U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick met with trade ministers from Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua on May 28 to sign the finalized Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), he took the opportunity to make a snide remark about CAFTA's opponents. "You'll pardon me if I have a bit of an ironical smile when primarily people from the United States decide to tell democracies in Central America what's good for them," smirked Zoellick. "We used to call that imperialism."

But Zoellick conveniently ignores the growing social movements in Central America from which U.S. solidarity groups take their cue. CAFTA, which may be voted on by the U.S. Congress as early as

July, has galvanized a powerful movement of peasants, factory workers, students, indigenous people and others in opposition to the trade deal's potentially devastating impacts on Central American communities.

Guadalupe Erazo, a member of El Salvador's Popular Social Bloc, spoke at Bluestockings Bookstore on June 20 as part of an anti-CAFTA tour coordinated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), characterizing the deal made largely behind closed doors, as a "seven-headed monster."

"What is the meaning of CAFTA for Central America?" asked Erazo, who participated in the FMLN guerrilla insurgency from 1979 to 1989 and currently works with the National Association of Agricultural Workers (ANTA). "It is a plan put forth by the capitalist governments and the business monopolies that

FIGHTING ON ALL FRONTS In Washington, Salvadorian peasant leader Guadalupe Erazo prepares to lobby members of Congress to reject CAFTA. Erazo spoke in New York on June 20.

have come to swallow the lifeblood of Central America."

Erazo said free trade is an uneven playing field, and CAFTA is an immense threat to Central America's millions of small farmers, who would be overwhelmed by cheap, heavily subsidized products of U.S. agribusiness.

"CAFTA will be the final blow for Salvadoran peasants," said Erazo. "[It] is a mortal attack against food security, which is the most basic right people have to maintain their lives."

Equally troubling, CAFTA contains provisions similar to NAFTA's infamous Chapter 11, which allows private companies to sue foreign governments for passing environmental policies that impede their business. In the first lawsuit filed under Chapter 11, the U.S.-based Metalclad corporation sued Mexico because the state of San Luis Potosí refused to allow the company to operate a waste facility that would have contaminated the local water supply.

Metalclad won the suit in 2000, forcing the state to pay \$16.7 million in compensation.

While CAFTA has been most actively pursued by the Bush administration, Democrats in Congress have generally voiced support for a modified version of the agreement. Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry has said he would renegotiate CAFTA to provide for stronger labor and environmental codes.

Erazo said a "kinder, gentler" CAFTA is unacceptable because it would not address the deal's impacts on the agricultural sector, arguing, "They cannot reform CAFTA, because it is wrong as its base."

This July, Central Americans are planning five different summits to unite groups opposed to CAFTA, and here at home, CISPES and other groups are organizing an anti-CAFTA lobbying day in Washington, D.C. on July 19.

For more information, see [www.cispes.org](http://www.cispes.org)

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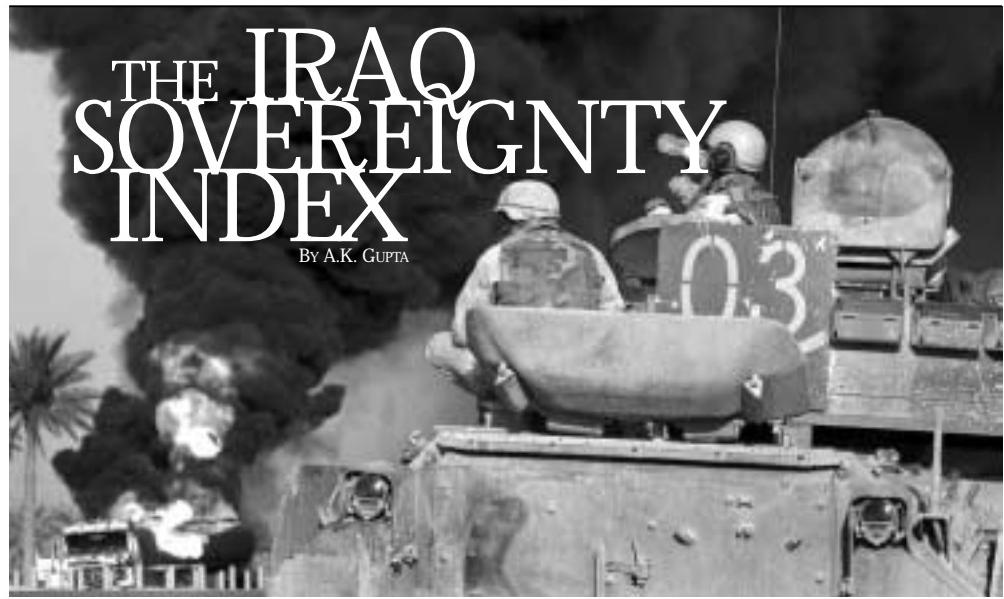
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**Number of permanent military bases the U.S. is constructing in Iraq:** 14

**Days before assuming power that U.S.-picked Prime Minister Iyad Allawi told reporters he was considering imposing martial law:** 7

**Days before assuming power that Allawi said national elections set for January 2005 could be postponed:** 2

**Days after installing Iraq's interim government that U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell said Iraq would have no veto over U.S. military operations:** 2

**Percentage of Iraqi government leaders elected:** 0

**Percentage chosen by the United States:** 100

**Number of the first eight Iraqi government positions filled by U.N. envoy Lakhdar Brahimi filled with members of the U.S.-picked Iraqi Governing Council:** 5

**Number of U.S. troops who died in April 2003, before the end of "combat operations":** 73

**Number who died in April 2004:** 135

**Number of U.S. troops killed in Iraq since war began in March 2003:** 857

**Number of U.S. civilians killed in Iraq during the same period:** 200+ (*Washington Post*)

**Number of Iraqi civilians killed:** 11,333 (*Iraqbodycount.org*)

**Amount of Iraq's oil revenue that the ruling U.S. Coalition Provisional Authority decided to spend before it was dissolved:** \$2.5 billion

**Average daily Iraqi oil exports prior to the March 2003 invasion:** 2.5 million barrels

**Average daily exports now:** 1.5 million

**Number of separate attacks on Iraq's oil pipelines since December 2003:** more than 130

**Number of U.S. "precision strikes" against "high-value targets" from March 19, 2003, to April 18, 2003:** 50

**Number that hit any high-value targets:** 0

**Number of Iraqi civilians killed in those strikes:** hundreds

**Number of U.S. and allied troops in Iraq:** 160,000

**Number of mercenaries:** 20,000+

**Number of additional troops Pentagon plans on deploying to Iraq:** 15,000

**Total number of U.S. troops Donald Rumsfeld said in May 2003 that would be needed in Iraq by the end of 2003:** 30,000

**Minimum number of torture cases being investigated in Iraq and Afghanistan:** 107

**Minimum number of prisoner deaths being investigated:** 37

**Number of U.S. troops or mercenaries who have been convicted of killing or torturing Iraqis:** 1

**Estimated long-term cost of war to every U.S. household:** \$3,415

**Amount contractor Halliburton is alleged to have charged for meals never served to troops and for cost overruns on fuel deliveries:** \$221 million

**Kickbacks received by Halliburton employees from subcontractors:** \$6 million

**Percentage of Americans who now feel that "the situation in Iraq was not worth going to war over":** 54

**Percentage of Iraqis who said they would feel safer if U.S. and other foreign troops left the country immediately:** 55

*Other sources include New York Times, USA Today, and Institute for Policy Studies.*

## CAR BOMB-A-RAMA

According to a New York Times report from June 8, interim Prime Minister Iyad Allawi's group, the Iraqi National Accord, organized car bombings in Baghdad in the 1990s. So perhaps it's no surprise that Iraq has suffered at least 27 car bombs in the month of June after Allawi was installed at the behest of U.S. occupation officials.

### JUNE 1

One car bomb outside U.S. military base in Bayji, kills 11; another kills 3 in Baghdad near the offices of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan.

### JUNE 2

Two car bombs, including one in Baghdad that killed 5.

### JUNE 6

One car bomb outside U.S. base in Taji, kills 9.

### JUNE 8

One car bomb in Mosul outside mayor's office kills 9; another outside U.S. military base in Baquba kills 6.

### JUNE 13

One car bomb in Baghdad, 12 killed; one near Iskandariyah, 1 hurt.

### JUNE 14

Two car bombs in Baghdad, 13 killed; one in Salam Pak, 4 killed.

### JUNE 17

Two car bombs, one in Baghdad, one in Balad, 41 killed.

### JUNE 22

Car bomb in Baghdad kills 2.

### JUNE 24

Five car bombs in Mosul kill 62.

### JUNE 26

Two car bombs in Hillah kill 32; one in Irbil, 1 killed.

Supreme Court Rules:

## NO MO' GITMO

By ANN SCHNEIDER

In a fascinating constellation of cases, facts and judicial predilections, the Supreme Court on June 28 handed down three major decisions affecting the most basic rights of citizen and non-citizen detainees in the war on terror.

In the case of the 600 Guantanamo detainees, 14 plaintiffs represented by the Center for Constitutional Rights established their right to appear in U.S. courts to challenge their detentions. The ruling was 6-3, with William Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas dissenting. Writing for the majority, Justice John Paul Stevens rejected the government's argument that U.S. courts have no authority over what goes on in Guantanamo because it is located on Cuban soil. Instead the majority found that the Guantanamo base is under exclusive U.S. control. Now, after being held for more than two years, all of the foreign detainees have the right to force the United States to disclose why they are being held.

Regarding the Bush administration's experiment with designating U.S. citizens "enemy combatants," the Supreme Court gave Yasser Hamdi substantive rights but took a dodge on Jose Padilla. In the Padilla case, the Court said Donald Rumsfeld was not Padilla's actual custodian and so was not the proper party to sue. Then the justices declined to address the legality of his detention, forcing Padilla to begin his *habeas corpus* suit over again.

In the case of Yasser Hamdi, supposedly caught on the battlefield, the Court issued a split decision, but basically approved the Commander-in-Chief's right to designate U.S. citizens enemy combatants. Justices Sandra O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy, Stephen Breyer, and Rehnquist ruled for a plurality that Hamdi is entitled to have a court review the legality of his detention (*habeas corpus*). The dominant opinion requires the government to show "some evidence" of his fighting on behalf of the Taliban or al Qaeda, but even second-hand, hearsay evidence is allowable. Hamdi is entitled to rebut the government's case against him, and to have the assistance of counsel, but he is not entitled to be presumed innocent. Thus, the majority accepted a new category of citizens designated enemy combatants who are entitled to a lesser standard of justice.

Justices David Souter and Ruth Ginsburg criticized the government for holding Hamdi incommunicado for 21 months without access to counsel or even the right to send and receive correspondence from his family, a right guaranteed by the Geneva conventions. Justice Scalia wrote an amazing 27-page history of the writ of *habeas corpus* and forthrightly demanded that Hamdi either be charged with treason (à la John Walker Lindh) or be released. He was joined by Justice John Paul Stevens.

Justice Thomas, writing in the Hamdi case, completely accepted the government's argument that giving detainees access to courts and lawyers would "destroy the intelligence gathering function" of such detentions.

How did the torture scandal affect the votes of The Supremes? The revelations came only days after Solicitor General Paul Clement's assurances that the United States does not engage in torture. In the Guantanamo case, this led the majority to implicitly overturn their own precedent prohibiting non-citizens from using U.S. courts to pursue *habeas corpus* relief. After revelations of 37 deaths at the hands of U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, the majority of the Supreme Court was no longer willing to accept the government's legal fictions about its lack of control in foreign territories.

# REVIEWS

## CULTURE, POLITICS AND CRITICISM

### FROM LONG BOW TO TIANANMEN SQUARE

WILLIAM HINTON, AUTHOR OF *FANSHEN*  
AND HISTORIAN OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, DIES

William H. Hinton, the author of *Fanshen* and several other influential books on the Chinese Revolution, died on May 15, 2004. In the 1960s and 70s, Bill Hinton's books did more to educate radicals in the United States on the complex and inspiring drama of the Chinese Revolution than the writings of any other author.

Hinton was born in Chicago in 1919. After graduating from the progressive Putney School in 1936, he delayed going to college to travel in Japanese-occupied Korea, northern China, the Soviet Union, Poland and Nazi Germany. Hinton then studied agronomy and animal husbandry at Cornell, graduating in 1941.

He became a Marxist and a supporter of the Chinese Revolution after reading Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* in 1942. In 1945 he returned to China to work for the U.S. Office of War Information,

before taking a job instructing Chinese farmers on the use of tractors as part of the U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation Administration in the Communist areas of northern China.

Hinton stayed on as an English teacher at the Communist-run Northern University. When his students abandoned their studies to join the land-reform movement, he asked to be attached to a "work team" of young communists assigned to assist the village of Long Bow in redistributing the land. What he witnessed was a social revolution in a small village as the poorest peasants discovered their own voices and challenged the landlords that had always exploited and oppressed them. Young people were standing up to the conservatism of their parents and women stopped allowing their husbands to beat them.

Everything was changing. The Communists helped set the process in motion, but the revo-

lution in Long Bow quickly took on its own logic and forced them to reexamine many of their own assumptions.

The extensive notes Hinton took during his eight months in Long Bow were seized by Customs on his return to the United States in 1953. After a protracted legal battle to get the notes returned to him, he wrote *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village*, first published by Monthly Review Press in 1966 and still in print. In the meantime, Hinton made his living as a farmer in Pennsylvania.

*Fanshen* (which means "to turn over" in Chinese) presents a detailed account of how the poorest peasants came to find the agency to redistribute land and seize the tools and wealth of the few in order to transform themselves and their village. It is a complex portrait of the Revolution, of the courage, folly and arrogance of the Communist Party cadres, but ultimately eulogizes the ability of the most downtrodden members of society to remake the world. It is one of the greatest revolutionary books ever written.

The Chinese Revolution – involving the radical, societal reorganization of nearly one quarter of humanity – was arguably the most important event of the 20th century. But, under the influence of a combination of racial and anti-communist xenophobia, most Americans, including many radicals, know precious little about it.

While other books tell the story of the Chinese Revolution in broad strokes, *Fanshen* is grounded in a single village and captures the individual drama and daily details that reveal what was really at stake. Yet *Fanshen* is not a polemic; its power comes from its quiet commitment to tell the stories of ordinary people assuming control over their own lives without omitting the complexities and turmoil of revolutionary upheaval.

*Fanshen* was published at the very moment that China was being shaken by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," which sought a purging of the remaining elements of the bourgeoisie (many members of mercantile and professional classes) at the hands of high-school and college students emboldened by the ideology of Mao Zedong. Gaining ground with Mao's support, it turned against those party and government officials Mao characterized as advocating "the capi-



### TO THE FIVE BOROUGHS

Beastie Boys Take On the Now

6 years after the release of their last album, "Hello Nasty," the Beastie Boys have reemerged with "To the Five Boroughs" in a vastly different musical and political atmosphere. And while the Beasties are no longer emblematic of popular youth culture the way they once were, "Boroughs" proves they can burst back onto a scene more dominated by hip-hop than ever before with innovative, fresh beats and creative, smoothly-produced samples without betraying the punk influence and silly antics that constitute their signature sound (witness three of the album's best, "That's It, That's All", "All Lifestyles", and "Open Letter to NYC"). "Boroughs" clearly represents the Beasties' progression as a group, showcasing their evolved rhythmic and sampling approaches as well as more overtly political rhymes.

The Beastie Boys have re-entered mainstream music in a post-9/11 world, and they know it. Matteo Pericoli's album art unfurls into a spectacular inking of the New York City skyline (Twin Towers included), and from the shoutout song "Open Letter to NYC" to the rallying cry of "Right Right Now Now," there is no mistaking the new lyrical direction for the Beasties. Just check out a few lines from the politically aggressive "Time to Build," which declares:

"If you don't like the news then press eject  
Baby Davis getting older; can't take a rain check  
It's time to let 'em know what we expect  
Stop building SUVs strung out on OPEC.  
Hold up, wait up, you know we come correct  
You wanna change things up, well hey just get set...  
We got a president we didn't elect  
The Kyoto treaty he decided to neglect  
and still the U.S. just wants to flex."

"To the Five Boroughs" is without a doubt the album of Summer 2004, kicking it to the sound of a time for change. With an old-school boom box on your shoulder, be sure to make "Boroughs" your accessory of choice when rocking out in protest at the RNC and elsewhere.

—Kate Perkins

talist road" for Chinese development, notably Chinese President Liu Shao Qi and Deng Xiaoping. Hinton viewed the Cultural Revolution as a response to the efforts of some in the Communist Party to roll back the gains of the revolution he had documented in *Fanshen*. In 1971 Hinton returned to Long Bow and wrote two books, *Turning Point in China and Hundred Day War: The Cultural Revolution at Tsinghua University*, where he

sympathetically examined the Cultural Revolution's attempt to confront political bureaucratization and the re-emergence of capitalist class relations in an ostensibly socialist country.

In *Iron Oxen*, Hinton looked at the social consequences of agricultural mechanization, and in *Shenfan: The Continuing Revolution in a Chinese Village*, he charts the development of Long Bow through the twists and turns of recent Chinese history, includ-

## TERMINALLY LIBERAL

THE TERMINAL  
Dir. Steven Spielberg  
128 minutes

**A**t the beginning of *The Terminal*, tourist Victor Navorski (Tom Hanks) is unceremoniously dumped in the international lounge of JFK Airport. Homeland Security is detaining him until his Eastern European country reemerges from the civil war that began while he was in the air. There is only one thing to do while he waits, the security officer says – shop. Welcome to America.

The international terminal is a microcosm of the country just beyond its doors. Victor, like any immigrant, has to learn its rules and rhythms to survive. He learns to get quarters by returning carts, recruits a multiethnic group of sidekicks and even gets a job in construction.

Somewhere along the way, director Steven Spielberg manages to turn a film about the absurdity of bureaucratic power into a feel-good comedy with at least three endings, all cloyingly uplifting.

Napoleonic security chief Frank Dixon (Stanley Tucci)

recedes into the background as the entire staff of the airport falls in love with the all-American heart that beats beneath Navorski's Slavic chest.

It says something about Spielberg's political leanings that he made an employee of Homeland Security the villain of his movie. It says more that he refuses to pursue the implications of this.

Spielberg is the most popular and most emblematic living American filmmaker because he has a basic aversion to complexity, foreignness and negativity. He does not pander to American audiences; he embodies their middle-class, suburban values. And so do his characters, regardless of their national origins. Navorski is a Midwesterner with a cutesy accent.

The very definition of a cowardly liberal, Spielberg flirts with questioning power only to flee back to his comfort zone of false emotions and happy endings.

—Matt Wasserman

## HINTON continued

ing both the epochal moments of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

In the West, the Cultural Revolution is not remembered as a moment of genuine revolutionary change. It is taught as a purely personal power struggle or as some sort of inexplicable frenzy. But later events, like the dismantling of cooperative agriculture in the 1980s, seem to support Hinton's views. In *The Great Reversal, The Privatization of China 1978-1989*, Hinton offers a devastating critique of China's turn towards private property and the restoration of capitalist social relations. Its final chapter is dedicated to the Tiananmen Square massacre ordered by Deng Xiaoping, which Hinton personally witnessed.

But *The Great Reversal* ends on a note of revolutionary optimism. Having witnessed enormous changes over 50 years of Chinese history, Hinton understood that the mas-

sacre was an attempt to crush the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people. The massacre was a recognition by Deng's post-Communist party of how dangerous that spirit was to his vision of a capitalist China.

Throughout the time he was writing, Hinton continued to assist the development of agriculture in Long Bow and elsewhere. In 1995 he moved with his third wife to Mongolia where he taught nomadic farming techniques.

Hinton lived a full life during which he made both material and intellectual contributions to the global struggle for human liberation. His passion narrating the human dramas of the Revolution in China was matched by his practical work teaching agricultural methods.

He remained a Marxist without illusions and a revolutionary to the end.

—Christopher Day



RD

## WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH KANSAS?

### HOW CONSERVATIVES WON THE HEART OF AMERICA

Thomas Frank • Metropolitan Books • 2004

BY KATE PERKINS

If you happen to have made the unfortunate mistake of flipping on the television or scanning the radio dial in search of political analysis since the 2000 election scandal, you are likely to have found yourself in the midst of a raging, corporate-sponsored media battle waged across the airwaves between conservative and liberal pundits whose vernacular largely hinges on derogatory slurs at the cultural values of the opposition.

Liberals, this discourse will assure you, are the snobby, coastal elite. They are Volvo-driving, Martha's Vineyard-summing, latte-drinking, Ivy League-educated folk whose values are depleting the moral substance of the country, corrupting the airwaves with their witty little sitcoms and making toilet paper of the Constitution with their fetus- and flag-hating ways.

Conservatives, as seen from the other corner of the boxing ring, are idiots. They are racist, ignorant, country-bumpkin hicks who want to make of the U.S. a veritable theocracy. Bible-thumping the nation's secular social progress right back into the ground.

The result has been a discourse of martyrdom on the right; conservatives are able to maintain their own rhetoric regarding liberals and simultaneously use that of their opponents to portray themselves as righteous, simple, authentic Americans, the down-trodden victims of the elite. Sound familiar? That's correct: the right has appropriated the language once belonging to the left, to workers, farmers and populists struggling against big business for their fair slice of the American democratic pie.

Today, the poorest counties in America — the farm and factory towns whose unions have been dismantled and whose local businesses fell to their knees when Wal-Mart came barrelling in — are those that voted overwhelmingly for George W. Bush and who identify Republicans as the party of working-class Americans.

This is the phenomenon of popular conservatism, and it is the subject of Thomas Frank's new book, *What's the Matter With Kansas?: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. Frank takes readers to his home state of Kansas, where a century ago populist uprisings advocated price supports, unionization of labor and progressive stances on reproduction and women's rights. The first part of the title was originally that of an editorial written by William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, condemning 19th-century Kansas populists for their blindness to the "plain truth" of free-market capitalism.

Now, Kansas finds itself in a political about-face. With each new set of deregulation acts passed in Congress and each factory town's de-unionization, the people of Kansas (divided not between Republican and Democrat supporters so much as moderate and conservative Republican factions) are up in arms over

their disintegrating economies, their vulnerability to agribusiness giants like Arthur Daniels Midland, and the continually diminishing rights (and jobs) of their workers. And rightly so; the problem is, however, that their anger leads them to vote for the very representatives demanding more tax cuts for the wealthy, opposing price supports for heartland farmers and advocating school vouchers for already struggling local education systems.

What accounts for this destructive voting pattern? Frank points to the culture wars waged on the airwaves by the pundits. Irresolvable issues, such as abortion, queer marriage rights, evolution theory in schools and the term "God" in the Pledge of Allegiance, allow the right to present conservatives as the morally righteous victims of the liberal elite, without — and this is key to Frank's argument — ever addressing the politics of class.

This, thinks Frank, allows Republicans to represent themselves as champions of the people without revealing their crucial role as architects of a supposedly free-market domestic economy that endlessly awards corporations at the expense of the heartland population.

*What's the Matter with Kansas?* is more than just an exploration of the phenomenon of popular conservatism, though Frank's assessment merits the attention of anyone concerned with American domestic politics. But Frank goes beyond mere description and looks deep into the citizens' histories of Kansas and the American heartland, drawing on a wide body of meticulously-researched sources. He returned to his home state, conducted interviews and other research for the book through diverse regions of farm and factory towns as well as in his own affluent suburb.

Much of the criticism of Frank's book has so far revolved around Frank's own so-called elitism. One charge is that *Kansas* degrades Midwestern conservatives the same way the rhetoric of the punditry does, characterizing them as ignorant bumpkins who simply can't figure out what is good for them. But this is not the case. Frank's investigation is genuinely inquiring, and accompanied by an account of his own conservative stance as a young Kansan, we get the sense that Frank is, if anything, understanding.

Marx wrote of a "false consciousness" whereby ideologies are instilled in populations by an elite class seeking to maintain its power through the support of those being deceived. This is a political reality, not a way for Frank to demean conservative values. What Frank understands is that this is class warfare with the economics rubbed out, protecting the Republicans who benefit from the very corporate structure that diminishes the quality of life of their adherents.

It doesn't look like a resolution is in sight soon, but *Kansas* recognizes the problem, and that might just be a start.